

Message Text

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FOLLOWING SENT ACTION SECSTATE INFO GENEVA LONDON BONN
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QUOTE CONFIDENTIAL PARIS 829

LUSAKA FOR HOROWITZ

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PLAB, ILO, FR, UK, IT

SUBJECT: HOROWITZ VISIT TO PARIS ON ILO MATTERS

1. BASED ON THE VERBAL REPORTS HE GAVE US DANIEL
HOROWITZ, US DEL TO ILO, ENGAGED IN THE FOLLOWING
EXCHANGE OF VIEWS DURING THE VARIOUS MEETINGS HE HAD
IN PARIS 6-7 JANUARY.

2. LUNCH WITH GABRIEL VENTEJOL, PRESIDENT SOCIAL AND
ECONOMIC COUNCIL AND GOF DEL TO ILO.

(A) VENTEJOL WAS OPTIMISTIC ABOUT THE CHANCES OF
MODIFYING ARTICLE 17 OF THE STANDING ORDERS OF THE
CONFERENCE TO INCORPORATE CHANGES WHICH USG CONSIDERS
USEFUL AND ON WHICH MOST INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES ARE
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IN AGREEMENT.

(B) WITH REGARD TO THE MIDDLE EAST QUESTION VENTEJOL
REPEATED HIS OFTEN EXPRESSED FEELING THAT THIS
SHOULD BE DISPOSED OF AT THE GB FEBRUARY MEETING SO
AS TO CLOSE THE BOOK ON THIS CASE OF VIOLATION OF
DUE PROCESS.

(C) A LONG DISCUSSION ON THE ILO STRUCTURE PROBLEM ENDED WITH AN EXPRESSION OF INTEREST ON THE PART OF VENTEJOL IN THE IDEA OF FINDING A SOLUTION THROUGH SOME INFORMAL ARRANGEMENTS REGARDING THE COMPOSITION AND FUNCTIONING OF THE GOVERNING BODY.

3. INFORMAL MEETING WITH VENTEJOL (FRANCE, FORWARD (UK), AGO (ITALY) WHICH FOCUSED ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY ON THE QUESTION OF ILO STRUCTURE.

(A) HOROWITZ ARGUED IN SUPPORT OF THE PRINCIPLE OF PERMANENT SEATS FOR THE ADVANCED INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES, AGAINST ANY REGIONALIZATION OF THE GB COMPOSITION AND CALLED ATTENTION TO THE DEVELOPING EVIDENCE THAT "THE PATTERN OF COOPERATION AMONG THESE INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES IS BREAKING UP." FURTHERMORE HE UNDERScoreD THE FACT THAT THE STRUCTURE ISSUE IS ACQUIRING GREAT IMPORTANCE AMONG US OFFICIALS AS WELL AS EMPLOYER AND WORKER REPRESENTATIVES. WITH REGARD TO THE GROUP OF 77 HOROWITZ POINTED OUT THAT IT WOULD BE UNWISE TO CONSIDER THAT THE SPOKESMEN FOR THE GROUP (ALGERIA, CUBA) ARE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE VIEWS AND POSITIONS HELD BY ALL 77 MEMBERS. IN ADDITION HE QUESTIONED THE TENDENCY OF THE GENEVA REPRESENTATIVES OF VARIOUS COUNTRIES TO MAKE DECISIONS ON THEIR OWN THEREBY RAISING DOUBTS WHETHER THEY EXPRESS THE VIEWS OF THEIR GOVERNMENT WHEN THEY SPEAK OR ONLY THEIR OWN. HENCE, THE DECISION TO UNDERTAKE CONFIDENTIAL

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A VISIT TO AFRICA TO AFFORD HIM AN OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS THE STRUCTURE ISSUE WITH APPROPRIATE OFFICIALS IN EACH CAPITAL.

(B) AGO AND FORWARD, WITH MOST OF THE TALKING BEING DONE BY THE LATTER, SAID THAT THEY SHARED THE U.S. CONVICTION THAT THE INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES SHOULD STAND ON PRINCIPLE BUT FELT THAT NO ORGANIZATION CAN STAND IMMOBILE. THEIR FORMULA FOR THE COMPOSITION OF THE GOVERNING BODY WAS THAT EACH OF THE FOUR GEOGRAPHIC REGIONS BE ACCORDED FIVE PERMANENT SEATS AND THAT THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN TITULAR AND SUBSTITUTE GB MEMBERS BE ABOLISHED THEREBY IN EFFECT INCREASING SUBSTANTIALLY THE NUMBER OF GB MEMBERS.

(C) CONTRARY TO WHAT HE HAD TOLD US REPRESENTATIVES IN JUNE IN GENEVA, AGO ARGUED THIS TIME THAT EVEN UNDER THE PRESENT COMPOSITION OF GB THE INDUSTRIALIZED DEMOCRACIES CANNOT WIN ON IMPORTANT ISSUES AND

THEREFORE WHAT DOES IT MATTER IF THE SYSTEM CHANGES COMPLETELY AND GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION OF THE PERMANENT SEATS IS INTRODUCED. HOROWITZ ARGUED AGAINST THIS INTERPRETATION OF REGIONALIZATION AND INSISTED INSTEAD THAT UNDER THE PRESENT COMPOSITION THE INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES DO HAVE A FIGHTING CHANCE TO WIN ON IMPORTANT ISSUES.

(D) VENTEJOL, WHO ATTEMPTED TO CAST HIMSELF IN THE ROLE OF A MEDIATOR THEREBY SOFT-PEDALLING HIS BASIC UNDERSTANDING AND AGREEMENT WITH THE US POSITION, SUGGESTED THAT IF THE US IS OPPOSED TO CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES WHY NOT EXPLORE THE POSSIBILITY OF CHANGING THE STANDING ORDERS OR OTHERWISE MAKE INFORMAL ARRANGEMENTS. AGO BRUSHED THIS ASIDE.

(E) AGO AND FORWARD OPPOSED HOROWITZ'S SUGGESTION, CONFIDENTIAL

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SUPPORTED BY VENTEJOL, THAT THE 7 FEBRUARY MEETING OF THE WORKING PARTY ON STRUCTURE BE POSTPONED UNTIL AFTER THE FEBRUARY GB MEETING TO ALLOW FOR MORE TIME FOR CONSULTATIONS. AS AN ALTERNATIVE IT WAS AGREED THAT HOROWITZ SHOULD MAKE ARRANGEMENTS TO MEET IN GENEVA ON 6 FEBRUARY WITH THE GOVERNMENT REPRESENTATIVES OF FRANCE, ITALY, UK, FRG, CANADA, JAPAN AND BELGIUM, THE LATTER BECAUSE OF ITS BEING MEMBER OF THE WORKING PARTY.

4. MEETING WITH FORWARD. A TWO-HOUR MEETING WITH THE UK DELEGATE DID NOT PRODUCE ANY CHANGES IN THE POSITIONS OF THE TWO PARTICIPANTS NOR ANY BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF WHAT LED FORWARD TO ADOPT THE AGO PROPOSAL. HOROWITZ WAS SURPRISED TO HEAR FORWARD MAKE THE STATEMENT THAT IT WAS HIS UNDERSTANDING THAT VENTEJOL ALSO SUPPORTED THE AGO PLAN AND THERE WAS REASONABLE EXPECTATION THAT FRG WOULD DO LIKEWISE.

5. LUNCH WITH FRANCIS BLANCHARD, ILO DG.

(A) THERE WAS A FAIRLY CLEAR AGREEMENT ON ARTICLE 17.

(B) BLANCHARD REPORTED THAT HE EXPECTS THE ARABS TO CALL ON HIM WITHIN THE NEXT FEW DAYS TO REQUEST POST-PONEMENT OF THE MIDDLE EAST QUESTION PRESENTLY ON THE AGENDA OF THE GB FEBRUARY MEETING SO THAT IT CAN BE DISCUSSED AT THE JUNE CONFERENCE. BLANCHARD AGREED WITH HOROWITZ'S SUGGESTION THAT BLANCHARD RESIST THE ARAB DEMAND AND REPEAT THE ADVICE ALREADY

GIVEN TO VARIOUS ARAB REPRESENTATIVES THAT IF THEY
CONTINUE TO FEEL THAT A VALID CAUSE FOR COMPLAINT
AGAINST ISRAEL EXISTS THEY SHOULD FOLLOW THE
PROCEDURE ALREADY PROVIDED IN THE ILO CHARTER CALLING
FOR INVESTIGATION.
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6. MEETING WITH KAPELLAKINDUELU, THE NEW AMBASSADOR
OF ZAIRE. AMBASSADOR KAPELLAKINDUELU RECEIVED
HOROWITZ VERY WARMLY AND PROMISED TO SEND A WORD TO
SECGEN OF LABOR MINISTRY IN KINSHASA AND THE
EMPLOYER AND WORKER REPRESENTATIVES TO REQUEST THAT
HOROWITZ BE RECEIVED AS A FRIEND AND THAT HE BE
PROVIDED WITH EVERY COURTESY AND OPPORTUNITY FOR
MEANINGFUL DISCUSSIONS ON ILO MATTERS.

7. ONE MORE MEETING WITH VENTEJOL IN WHICH LABOR
ATTACHE ACCOMPANIED. THE PURPOSE OF THIS MEETING
WAS TO ALERT VENTEJOL OF FORWARD'S UNDERSTANDING
ABOVE CONCERNING GOF'S POSITION. VENTEJOL RESPONDED
WITH OBVIOUS DISPLEASURE AND IN THE PRESENCE
OF HIS VISITORS ASKED HIS SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO MAKE
ARRANGEMENTS FOR HIM TO SPEAK WITH FORWARD AND AGO
ON THE AFTERNOON OF 10 JANUARY.

8. SUBSEQUENTLY THE SPECIAL ASSISTANT CALLED LABATT
DISTURBED TO INQUIRE WHAT IT WAS ALL ABOUT.
WHEN HE HEARD THE EXPLANATION HE COMMENTED THAT HE
CAN SEE HOW VENTEJOL CAN BECOME A VICTIM OF THIS
KIND OF MISUNDERSTANDING BECAUSE IT IS IN HIS
PERSONALITY NOT TO MAKE UNCLEAR STATEMENTS OF RE-
JECTION OF IDEAS WITH WHICH HE DISAGREES. HE
EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR THE INITIATIVE TO ADVISE
VENTEJOL PROMPTLY OF WHAT FORWARD AND FOR THAT
MATTER AGO WILL BE REPORTING TO THEIR RESPECTIVE
GOVERNMENTS SO AS TO PREVENT A MISUNDERSTANDING
PLAYING A ROLE ON THE TWO GOVERNMENTS' DELIBERATIONS.
GAMMON UNQUOTE KISSINGER

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